THE Reconstructionist

Vol. IX. April 16, 1943 Nisan 11, 5703 No. 5

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THE Reconstructionist

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EDITORIALS

EDUCATION FOR FREEDOM AND THE NEW HAGGADAH

IT is a truism that the battle for freedom has to be fought over again in every generation. Freedom is not a static condition; it is a dynamic process, a striving of the human spirit to overcome all the obstacles to its self-fulfilment. And since the struggle for freedom must go on, if human life is not to end in defeat and frustration, we need to have our faith in the triumph of freedom reinforced by our knowledge of past triumphs.

The ignorance, on the part of college students, of essential facts of American history, revealed in a recent survey of the New York *Times,* bodes ill therefore for the attainment of that freedom for which our country is at present waging war. According to the *Times'* survey, 25 percent of the students did not know that Lincoln was President of the United States during the Civil War; 30 percent, that Wilson was President during the first World War. Absurd answers were recorded to the query about the specific rights referred to in the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution.

Also in the Jewish struggle for freedom, a knowledge of history is indispensable. Freedom of religion, especially as it is applicable to Jewish religion, must mean more than the right to worship as one pleases. It must mean the release of dormant and inhibited spiritual powers. The Jew is not free unless he is free to be a Jew, free to enjoy and to make responsible use of the cultural and social heritage of his people. That is why he must know Jewish history in order to attain full freedom for self-fulfilment.

Jewish tradition certainly takes cognizance of this need. There is no better illustration of the use Judaism makes of history as an instrument of emancipation than the observance of the *seder.* The *matzah, maror* and other visible and tangible symbols are made significant by their setting in the Haggadah. *"Vehiggadta levinka"* ("And thou shalt tell thy son")—this was the injunction that gave rise to the Haggadah with its moving narrative, homilies, hymns and songs.

And yet the mere telling of the old tale in the old way is not enough to enable the story of Israel's redemption from Egyptian bondage to inspire the modern Jew with the moral and physical courage to fight for freedom. It does not even give him an idea of what freedom to

fight for. For just as the struggle for freedom has to be renewed in every generation, so the meaning of freedom has to be reinterpreted. It is only when the story is narrated in such a way as to make it relevant to the contemporary struggle for liberation and redemption that *"kol hamarbeh lesapper b'yetziat mitzraim hare zeh meshubbah"* ("The more one talks about the exodus from Egypt the better").

Our fathers who wrote the account given in the traditional Haggadah lived in an era of supernaturalistic faith. For them, the miracles related in the story of the exodus were marvelous but credible evidences of divine intervention in the cause of Jewish freedom, and the institution of the Pascal sacrifice was a token that similar supernatural help would be available in any new crisis that might arise. When, after the destruction of the Temple, they could no longer bring that sacrifice, they felt themselves cut off from an important means of communing with God. They therefore yearned for a future when they would again be able to bring that sacrifice in Jerusalem and experience thereby full communion with God. In the mean time, they compensated for the lack of this privilege by recalling and, in a measure, reenacting in the Seder the observance of the sacrificial meal.

But in our age, when war is waged by scientific techniques, how can the defenders of our liberty rely on any supernatural suspension of the laws of nature for their salvation? If the story of the redemption from Egypt is to inspire them with confidence in God's help in the modern struggle for redemption from fascist tyranny and the other enslaving conditions of our age, other elements of the story than the imaginative account of divine miracles must afford them that inspiration.

That is why, in the New Haggadah published under Reconstructionist auspices, the center of gravity of the narrative has been shifted from emphasis on miraculous intervention to emphasis on the role played by the personality of Moses and the spirit that motivated his conflict with Pharaoh. It stresses his sympathy with the suffering and oppressed, his willingness to sacrifice himself for his people, his righteous indignation and his defiance of tyranny. For it is the triumph of these spiritual qualities on which we can base our hopes of ultimate victory and spiritual regeneration.

And the emphasis is shifted also in another important respect. Instead of identifying Israel's redemption primarily with the restoration of the Temple and the sacrificial cult as a means of communion with God, it identifies that redemption with the achievement of a secure and dignified status among the peoples of the world, with the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish society based on cooperative labor and social justice, a society in which all that is best in Jewish tradition shall be focused and from which all of Jewry shall derive a new impulse to cultural creativity, new intellectual insight, new spiritual vision. For it is in the realization of ends such as these that life is experienced as sacred, a manifestation of God's presence. When we are aware of the infinite capacities of the human spirit for transcending the obstacles to freedom, we are communing with the "God who brought us forth out of the land of Egypt."

The New Haggadah is not the last word that can be said about the significance of the exodus from Egypt. But both in what it retains of the ancient Haggadah and in its innovations, it illustrates the method of using Jewish history to fortify the Jew for his share in the struggle of the human race for ampler freedom in the service of God.

TIME TO ACT

PROBLEMS of the peace settlement are being discussed by governments and among these problems the Jewish question should play a part. Our government and that of Great Britain have been appealed to by Jewish and Christian organizations to do something to save European Jews from complete annihilation. But a veil of secrecy surrounds what is taking place in the departments of state of the United Nations with reference to Jews and, more especially, with reference to Palestine. The conference on the situation of refugees from Nazi persecution which was scheduled to take place at Ottawa has, for some unknown reason, been transferred to Bermuda and no definite date for it has yet been set. Why? Can it be that the governments want to insure secrecy and to take the conference to a place from which delegations representing the oppressed peoples concerned could be excluded on technical grounds of inadequate shipping facilities, etc.?

With regard to Palestine the silence is even more ominous. Great Britain is apparently preparing to carry out to the letter her iniquitous White Paper policy, which provides for the termination of Jewish immigration into Palestine in the Spring of 1944. Intimations that this is so are to be found in the plan of the Palestine Government for post-war reconstruction in Palestine announced by the High Commissioner, Sir Harold MacMichael. The plan calls for the development of social services, wider education facilities, extension of irrigation and reforestation, soil conservation, etc., but *makes no reference to the Jewish National Home.* It merely expresses the hope that "the Jews will cooperate!" The Jews of Palestine, however, have had the courage and dignity to refuse cooperation under such conditions. David Ben-Gurion, addressing the joint session of the *Asefat Hanivharim* (the Jewish Representative Assembly) and the Smaller Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization, declared: "Without immigration and the undertaking of Jewish upbuilding, nothing can be done for the development of the country, not even for the Arabs," and the entire Jewish press of Palestine supported his stand.

Even more ominous than MacMichael's statement are the veiled threats of Sir Ronald Storrs, former Governor General of Jerusalem. As reported in a dispatch of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency from London, on March 22nd, he warned that, "unless some kind of a settlement between Jews and Arabs in Palestine is reached soon, serious disturbances may be expected there." This smells of blackmail. With the military control of Palestine in British hands, it is inconceivable that any disturbances can take place there except with the tacit consent of the British administration. But it would seem that the Palestine government is building up a case in advance for the repudiation by it of the responsibilities assumed in the Mandate and for the justification of the infamous White Paper. The threat of Arab violence may be real, but, if it is, the responsibility for the situation lies with Great Britain's repeated concessions to Arab aggression.

Now is the time to act. We dare not wait until governmental negotiations confront us with a *fait accompli.* We must press for immediate assurance that the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine shall be acknowledged and fulfilled to the letter. We cannot permit the governments of the Great Powers to put us off with promises of retribution or of paper rights that cannot be enforced. We must assert our right to survive, not merely as human beings but as a people. Having been granted by 52

nations of the world a "national home in Palestine," we want the right to live in it. We want a Jewish commonwealth in our national home, not a ghetto in an Arab state or in a British colony.

Now is the time to act. Zionists must rally all of Jewry to the cause of Jewish survival. We are pleased with the action of the Zionist organization in inaugurating a two-month nationwide campaign to mobilize Zionist man-power. We approve the announcement of its objective as the immediate abolition of the White Paper and all arbitrary restrictions upon immigration to Palestine. We see in the projected American Jewish Assembly an instrument that may prove very effective in appealing to the conscience of the United Nations to fulfil the international commitments with regard to the Jewish National Home, and Jewish rights in all countries. Other methods may also have to be adopted to arouse the public to an awareness of Jewish needs and of Jewish rights. A vast registration of Jews in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth after the war may be one method. Such a registration would show how unrepresentative and how remote from the loyal core of Jewry are those few Jews that have given comfort to our enemies and obstructed the achievement of our aspirations.

Now is the time to act. Too much precious time has already been lost in preliminary negotiations between the Executive Committee of the Assembly and the American Jewish Committee. If a formula has been arrived at which will align the American Jewish Committee with the other organizations included in the Assembly, that time may have proved well-spent in the long run. But negotiations must not be prolonged indefinitely. The Assembly must be convened, perhaps under a different name, if only the name impedes the participation in it of the Amercian Jewish Committee. The elections must take place. The Jewish people must be made acquainted with the issues and elect individuals who represent their true sentiments. And, in the Assembly, the Zionists must present a united bloc in demanding the opportunity for establishing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

SUMNER WELLES DEFENDS GIRAUD

THE recent correspondence between Baron de Rothschild and Under-Secretary of State Sumner Welles prompts us to return to the subject of the revocation of the Cremieux Decree. We regret that we cannot accept Mr. Welles' apologia as at all satisfactory. Even if only the legal aspects of the recall of the Cremieux Decree are taken into consideration, his apology is a lame one.

In the first place, French law requires five years of citizenship before voting. Mr. Welles' assurance that the Jews will be able to vote at the earliest elections after having been naturalized does not mean that they will have any voice in determining the form of government in liberated France, unless it is assumed that the war will last another five years.

Second, denaturalization applies also to Jews of French descent whose parents were born in Algiers. This is further evidence of the intention of Giraud to stuff the ballot boxes of the future with pro-fascist votes.

Third, the promise to restore Jews to all their former positions seems disingenuous, for many political positions are legally open to French citizens only.

Fourth, it is unlikely that the Algerian Civil Service will speed up the naturalization of Jews. Its personnel consists largely of men of Vichy. Moreover, there would have been little point in abolishing

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REALITIES AND VALUES

A CONFERENCE OF 100 JEWISH community leaders of the Central Atlantic States Region of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds met recently in Baltimore to discuss the relationship of the war chests to independent fund-raising for local, national and overseas needs. At the last General Assembly of the Council it was decided to advise the inclusion of Jewish Funds in the chests, but many apprehensions were voiced concerning the danger of loss of autonomy for and loss of interest in Jewish communal institutions and causes. The calling of this conference—similar ones will doubtless be called for other regions—is reassuring evidence that the Council is not unaware of the difficulties involved in a merger of Jewish and general community funds and is making an earnest effort to safeguard Jewish communal interests. For example, Harry Greenstein, Executive Director of the Jewish Welfare Fund of Baltimore, urged the scheduled completion of 1943 spring drives for Jewish needs regardless of the eventual results of negotiations with the general community chests, since funds raised in the fall would be applied to the 1944 budget and the failure to complete the spring drive would seriously handicap the rescue programs of Jewish relief organizations.

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ONE GOOD WHICH SHOULD come out of the spiritual ferment of the war is the acceleration of the process of the emancipation of the American Negro, of which the Emancipation Proclamation was only a beginning. Two events of recent date justify this hope. One of these is the convening of the Eastern Seaboard Conference on the Problems of the War and the Negro People, under the auspices of the National Negro Congress, a federation of Negro labor and other organizations. The program of the Congress calls for (1) full use of Negro man-power in the prosecution of the war, (2) safeguarding of democratic rights through repeal of poll-tax legislation and the passing of an anti-lynching bill, (3) insuring decent wartime living standards through price-control, rent-control and other appropriate measures, and (4) seeking a peace which would extend the four freedoms to "African, Indian, Chinese, Puerto Rican and colonial peoples of the world."

The other event is the Southwide Conference on Christianity, Democracy, and Healing of the South which was recently held in Raleigh, N. C. It adopted a program of interdenominational and interracial cooperation of a boldly progressive and democratic character. Among measures recommended were that white church women of the South "launch a movement against 'lynching' of the spirit, by which we mean all forms of enforced segregation." Specifically it proposed that Negro Christians join with whites in Communion suppers, that more whites subscribe to Negro magazines and that these periodicals be made available in public libraries, that courts take a more serious view of crimes committed against Negroes, and other important measures.

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Last fall a referendum on removing restrictions on birth control was defeated at the polls in Massachusetts, largely through the influence of the Catholic Church. A bill has since been introduced in the Massachusetts Legislature to allow registered physicians to furnish contraceptive devices to married women whose health or life might be endangered by pregnancy. In a hearing before the Committee on Public Health of the Legislature, Frederick W. Mansfield, former mayor of Boston, criticized the state Supreme Court for having handed down an advisory opinion at the request of the legislature. "I want to know," he said, "what right seven lawyers on a bench have to determine what constitutes a religious question. Is their opinion as weighty as that of church dignitaries who have been studying religion all their lives?" What we should like to know is what church dignitaries Mr. Mansfield refers to as more authoritative than the constituted judges of the state. Not, we are sure, the ministers of those Protestant Churches that have come out in favor of birth control. Certainly not the rabbis of the Central Conference or the Rabbinical Assembly that have also supported birth-control. He must therefore be talking on the assumption that dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church are the only authorities qualified to judge what is or is not religious and that their judgments are to be binding not only upon Catholics but upon all citizens, including Protestants, Jews and atheists. In the name of religious freedom, he and many like him have demanded a right to infringe on the freedom of others.

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When governments or individuals drag in the "Jewish issue" in order to confuse opponents and becloud real issues, the Jews are, naturally, the first to resent the action. It would seem that Jews would take especial care to avoid that kind of tactic. We are particularly grieved, therefore, to find that Jews do not hesitate to make a Jewish issue of the Alter-Ehrlich executions. The Jewish Socialist Bund, advertising in New York newspapers, declared that "The Jewish people will never forget this crime." Let us be clear about this matter: Alter and Ehrlich happen to have been Jews. We certainly are in no position to assert with absolute assurance whether their execution was or was not justified. If an injustice has been committed, we are certain that it could not have been motivated by anti-Jewish bias. The Jewishness of Alter and Ehrlich can have nothing to do with the case, and any attempt to commit the "Jewish people" is an attempt to becloud the issue.

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The Union of American Hebrew Congregations held their convention in New York over the week end of April 3-4. The important decisions made by them are all in the direction of greater integration into the totality of

American-Jewish life. The major step was the decision to join the American Jewish Assembly. This move was no casual or thoughtless one. It came after considerable agitation by the opposition. Now the American Jewish Committee may well ponder the question whom they represent. Certainly not their "co-religionists," even of the Reform wing. The Union went so far as to pass a resolution urging our government to "use its good offices to see that Palestine is opened as quickly as possible to settle as many Jews as desire to go there and who can be taken care of." The Union further protested against the revocation of the Cremieux law. We are happy that the Union, representing the laity of the Reform movement, is so responsive to the real needs of the hour. We are confident that Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, the newly appointed executive director, will encourage the Union to work out the kind of positive program which will make the Union a vigorous force in American Judaism.

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We notice that the Ben Hecht script, "We Shall Never Die," which was given at Madison Square Garden last month before 40,000 people, is going to be made into a film, to be shown throughout the country. No doubt the Jews of America are entitled to share the esthetic experience of New York Jewry; and there is no less expensive or more effective method of sharing such an experience than the film. We offer a word of caution to the responsible parties: Please go over that script very carefully and delete the flagrant offenses against accuracy and good taste. In the roster of famous Jews, you should not include *meshumadim,* Gentiles and anti-Semites. Some of the names on the list mentioned at Madison Square Garden fit into these categories. And the Kaddish at the close, if it is intended as the Mourners' Kaddish, should not be sung gaily to the *nusah* of Rosh Hashanah. There are still some Jews around who know the difference and their sensibilities should be spared. Incidentally, there are some scholars around too who would be glad to edit the text.

SUMNER WELLES DEFENDS GIRAUD

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the Cremieux law, if Jews were immediately to be readmitted to citizenship. Even if we assume for argument's sake, that this step was taken in order to forestall a possible Moslem revolt, would not the mass naturalization of Jews be similarly resented by them?

We are willing to assume that military considerations left the United States authorities in North Africa no alternative to dealing with the Vichy people. But we are deeply distressed by Mr. Welles' defense of Giraud's act, which has been ascribed, by persons claiming to have access to the facts, to the influence of Peyrouton. Was there any need for Mr. Welles, a liberal and a gentleman endowed with diplomatic suavity, to rush to the defense of this attack on Jewish rights? And why the tone of impatience in Mr. Welles' letter to Baron de Rothschild? Does the uneasy conscience of government authorities, who might have done much to alleviate the plight of the Jews but who have done very little, account for their venting their irritation on the persecuted? That is not an uncommon psychological reaction. To us Jews it bodes no good. We are keenly apprehensive of the future. Perhaps our apprehensions are exaggerated. If the government proves, by action and not merely by arguments or even by promises, that it has sympathy with the plight of our people, we shall be happy to admit our mistake and to retract any expressions of suspicion or distrust.

Religious Foundations of Democracy

By MORDECAI M. KAPLAN

WHAT spiritual values can the Jewish religious tradition contribute to the achievement of a just and enduring peace? The answer to this question is implied in the following things which the Jewish religious traditions can do:

1. It can open our eyes to the inner truth of democracy and indicate what is necessary to convert democracy from a way of speaking into a way of living.

2. It can make us understand the difference between real and illusory freedom.

3. It can furnish us with the kind of perspective on the present crisis that enables us to discern the meaning of God in history.

4. It can inspire us with the morale needed to turn the scale in favor of victory.

The Law of God vs. The Law of the Jungle

The entire trend of the Jewish tradition derives from the assumption that man is given the choice of either behaving according to God's will or behaving according to his own wilfulness. God's will finds expression in righteousness; man's wilfulness in violence.

What does this mean in terms of current ideas about human life? Man's struggle for existence is usually defined as a struggle for power. Since power is identified with material resources, armaments and the exercise of authority, man's struggle for existence is essentially a struggle for the possession of these things.

The question then arises how shall that struggle be evaluated? Shall we accept the struggle for power as determining who is fit to survive? If we accept it as determining fitness for survival, we make the possession of power an end in itself, and violence or ruthlessness becomes the law of our behavior. We then tend to eliminate from our behavior all compassion and reason; the exercise of either is bound to be regarded as a weakness. This is the law of the jungle.

Or shall we refuse to accept the struggle for power as determining human fitness, and maintain that we are to use power only as a means of rendering as many human beings as possible fit to survive? If this is our evaluation of power, we are likely to use power as a means to life's enhancement. This makes justice and righteousness the norm of human behavior.

Does the struggle itself determine what constitutes human fitness or shall we look to a higher law—the law of God—to determine what constitutes fitness? Throughout the classic ages of religion it would never have occurred to any one to be in doubt as to which was the legitimate norm of human life. However, since secularism, as it is incorrectly but commonly understood, has come to the fore, the legitimacy of force as a norm has been asserted with growing boldness. A tradition which goes back to Machiavelli and the Renaissance in Italy, and at least as far back as Fichte in Germany, has been built up on the new philosophy which denies the positive values by which men have always lived.

But this philosophy, satisfying as it does a deep-rooted craving of human nature, has passed beyond the boundaries of those two countries. It has always found admirers and imitators even among democratic peoples. It has been applied to social, economic and international relations by those who render lip service to democracy.

The emergence of fascism, with its unabashed avowal of ruthlessness as the criterion of human fitness, makes it necessary for the alternative philosophy of life to become equally articulate and to demand that those who accept it do so in the spirit of an all-out commitment. This alternative philosophy of life is what we, in common with all who war against fascism, should seek to incorporate into the ideal of democracy.

At this point the Jewish tradition reminds us that the best philosophy of life is liable to degenerate into a way of speaking. If it is to be translated into a way of life it must become Torah. Torah is a term too rich in connotations to be translatable. But there are two connotations which are all important, viz.: law and education. If, therefore, democracy as a means of rendering as many human beings as possible fit to survive is to become a way of life, it must be translated into specific laws which set forth duties as well as rights, and into a contentful and inspiring system of education in those duties and rights. The report released recently by the N. Y. "State War Council's Committee on Discrimination and Employment" points to considerable success which has been achieved recently in the integration of Negroes in war industries. Commenting upon this fact editorially, the N. Y. *Times* took occasion to say "Behind education and persuasion there were State and Federal laws which forbade discrimination. Most employers and white workers seemed eager to obey those laws when they understood the reason for them."

From the standpoint of the Jewish ideal of Torah, democracy spells duties as well as rights. Both should be translated into legislative and educational terms. This means the following:

a. The right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness should not be interpreted merely as a proclamation of *laissez faire* and rugged individualism. Rather should it be interpreted as a doctrine demanding that every citizen be provided with opportunities to make the most of life.

b. Freedom of worship should be interpreted not only as a right to continue one's own form of worship, but also as a duty to respect all other forms of worship and to eliminate from educational texts offensive propaganda, insult or condemnation of other religions and peoples.

c. Freedom of speech and assembly should imply not merely the right to promulgate one's own views but also to provide safeguards against incitement to violence and the spreading of class and race hatred.

d. The rule of majority should be accompanied by the duty to permit minority opinions, beliefs and cultures, so long as their adherents refrain from incitement to violence. But no minority that advocates the suppression of freedom of speech or religion or discrimination against races or creeds should be permitted to carry on its activities.

e. National independence and equality should be accompanied by the duty of surrendering part of national sovereignty which has to do with foreign affairs to a higher authority to be vested in a supernational body. There can be no escape from war except under a system of organized and enforced law.

Real vs. Illusory Freedom

A second group of spiritual values wherewith the Jewish religious tradition can help us in our present crisis relates to the difference between real and illusory freedom. Judaism makes Israel's exodus from Egypt the central theme of all its teachings. It wants God to be identified in the consciousness of man as the redeemer from oppression and liberator from bondage. By the same token it seeks

to have all redemption from oppression and liberation from bondage lead man to God. If freedom fails to render man more spiritually minded, if it does not promote his growth godwards, then it is only a mirage.

Freedom should be a means to growth and life abundant. It must, therefore, be offered not as an alternative to security but as an addition to security. It must be security plus. It should mean reducing to a minimum the justification for any one to have occasion to say: "If only I were not hampered by this or that artificial restraint, what great things couldn't I do?"

Having failed to grasp this conception of freedom as releasing the maximum potentialities for good in all human beings, the democratic nations came to regard freedom as synonymous with cutthroat competition, whether it be on an individual or on a collective scale. This is the kind of democracy for which men twenty-five years ago thought they were making the world safe.

The struggle for freedom thus degenerated into the freedom to struggle, with the result that the few won freedom plus security while the many lost both. The monopoly of freedom by the few has led the few to violate God's laws of righteousness and the many to become alienated from God altogether.

The fact which constitutes the gravest danger to the democratic peoples is that the many have lost faith in the value of freedom, because they have seen it work havoc with the weak and the helpless.

They have seen needless unemployment and poverty and misery in a world of potential production and wealth. They have seen crops plowed under while thousands famished, and milk spilled into rivers while babies were undernourished. Millions of sharecroppers virtually live a dehumanized life, because they are forced to raise the one crop that will pay the rents and interests on their lands.

To restore faith in freedom, not only must universal security be included in it but also the plus which is the essence of freedom must be guaranteed to all alike. Here again the Jewish principle of Torah comes to our aid. Freedom, to be a means of leading man to God, must be translated into law and education.

Only law can provide the safeguards of true freedom, and only education in the meaning of true freedom can render those safeguards effective. This calls for a widening of the conventional idea of the function of law in society. We think of law mainly as a means of maintaining social order, i.e., of protecting life, property, reputation, and of preventing perjury, fraud and violation of contracts.

All education should urge, and all government and law should provide for the following:

1) Just distribution of opportunity, so that every one should be given a chance to make the fullest use of his abilities. No barriers of arbitrary discrimination should be permitted to exist.

2) Accountability for the use of power on the part of all who possess the instruments of power. Management and labor should be expected to give a full accounting of their financial standing and methods of operation.

3) Compromise should be enforced wherever in a conflict of interests there is a tendency to intransigence.

4) All laws and institutions should be subjected to periodic revision.

The Moral Determinism Of History

A third group of Jewish spiritual values should help to give us the proper perspective on the present world-shaking conflict. Such perspective is furnished by

the principle which underlies the Jewish interpretation of history as *morally determined.*

The principle of moral determination in history is set forth in the following assumptions expressed in the sacred scriptures:

1. When a nation is the victim of aggression and conquest, it is paying the penalty of the sin of unrighteousness it has incurred in its internal or in its foreign relations. Its deliverance is contingent upon a change of heart, or repentance.

2. The nation which is the instrument of penalty is generally more guilty of violence than the victim. That probably qualifies it to serve as such an instrument. But that also leads it to play the god, to be arrogant and ruthless.

3. Since the God of righteousness must triumph, the instrument of penalty must in the end be broken. That fact together with the repentance of the sinning nation constitutes the establishment of God's sovereignty.

To be the victims of wars of aggression and conquest is viewed in Jewish tradition as the penalty for violation of God's laws. This idea underlies the exhortations in the Pentateuch, the Farewell Song of Moses, the historical writings from Judges through Kings, and the teachings of the Prophets. One after another, the Prophets interpreted the wars waged by Ashur, Mitzraim, the Scythians and Babylonians against Israel as directed by God because of Israel's sins. Likewise were the other nations to be punished for their violation of international law. The first chapter of Amos mentions Damascus, the Philistines, Tyre, Edom and Amon. Defeat and calamity were to be viewed as the advent of the "Day of the Lord," as revealing God's government of the world. This interpretation was part of the call to repentance for the misdeeds in the life of the nation.

The connection between this present world war and the sins of omission and commission of the democracies is quite evident. All those sins derive from the cardinal one of unrighteousness in our intra-national and international relations.

"War is the surgery of crime. Bad as it is in itself, it always implies that something worse has gone before," said Oliver Wendell Holmes. "Little did you realize when the Nazis were destroying the Synagogues in Germany that some day they would also do it to Westminster Abbey," said Chaim Weizmann in addressing the English.

It is necessary to have a clear understanding of the forces which have led to the rise of economic nationalism and class war which are mainly responsible for the present world tragedy. That in a world in which there is potential plenty for ten times the actual population, there should be unemployment and starvation, due entirely to selfishness, is a sin for which each of us is paying the price in a war that renders life a nightmare. The use of the machine process in the service of all that spells ruthlessness, instead of in the service of freedom and growth, has brought mankind to a point where all that we value as civilization is in danger of being destroyed.

The only thing that can ward off such a catastrophe is repentance, individual and national. Repentance must consist in resisting the barbarian invaders and conquerers, with the resolve in our hearts to benefit from our experience, and to build a world on the only foundation on which it can stand. That foundation is, according to the sages of the Talmud, truth, justice and peace. Isaiah, also, after depicting the devastation wrought by the invading enemy says to his people, "Banish you evil doings from my sight, cease to do wrong, learn to do right, make justice your aim, and put a check on violence." (Is. I, 16-17).

Repentance must not be confused with

defeatism. Defeatism is no less to be condemned than the sins which brought about the present tragedy, because defeatism is basically the refusal to recognize our own guilt and the acceptance of violence as the law of life. The initial successes of the aggressor misled many to regard the aggressor as representing the wave of the future. They should have served merely as a demonstration that he was a tool in the hands of God to punish the nations which, knowing the right, had failed to live up to it.

This interpretation is in keeping with a second principle to be derived from the moral determinism of history. According to that principle God, as it were, employs the more guilty to punish the less guilty. What points to the greater guilt of the aggressor is the fact that he plays the god.

This assumption is the keynote of all scriptural teaching. Playing the god, setting onself up as the source of power and being a law to oneself, is from the standpoint of our tradition the essence of wickedness. The *rasha* is anti-God, in that he usurps the prerogative of godhood.

With the aid of this principle we can appreciate the biblical interpretation of man's falling away from God and of the motives which actuate his scheming and battling for power and domination. In the international scene, Egypt and Ashur, Babylon and Chaldea, who are utilized by God to punish the sinful people, are themselves even more sinful. They prove their guilt by their unlimited arrogance and disregard of all standards other than their own will to power.

In this very trait of the aggressor is contained the seed of his destruction. For this is, after all, God's world, and God canot permit His will to be defied and his authority to be impugned. This may be termed the divine dialectic of history. Wickedness is bound to overreach itself and to encompass its own ruin.

This means that the body of mankind, animated as it is by the spirit of God, possesses sufficient recuperative power to throw off the mortal disease of unrighteousness which threatens its existence.

Religion and Morale

The inspiration for the morale needed to turn the scale in favor of victory can be found in the book of Psalms. The problem of morale is a problem of overcoming fear, the fear of man. The basic teaching of the Psalmist is that trust in God expels from our hearts the fear of man.

Overcoming fear, however, calls for more than inspiration. Here again the method of Torah should be resorted to, of Torah in the sense of self-imposed obligations and self-training. To overcome fear we have to engage continually in mental self-discipline. We must drill ourselves in specific mental activities, both in the privacy of our own minds and in the society of others who are equally eager to achieve morale. We should therefore dwell specifically on the importance of cultivating endurance, power of sacrifice, loyalty, ability to subordinate personal interest and pride, discounting unfavorable turns of events, appreciating real emergency and rising to meet it. Remembering that fear is an acute attack of self-consciousness, we should advocate all activities and interests that make for self-forgetfulness.

The main source of moral strength needed to overcome fear of man should be confidence in God as a God of justice and loving-kindness. This confidence must be translated into the soldierly traits which belong to those who defend all that represents civilization against the enemies that forever skulk on its frontiers. Every time tyranny raises its head, we should be ready to meet its challenge. "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition" is

only a paraphrase of the Psalmist's recommendation to the saints: "Let the high praises of God be in their mouths and a two-edged sword in their hand."

The soldierly traits which every one in the nation, both combatant and civilian must cultivate have been well described by W. E. Hocking in his book, *Morale and Its Enemies.*

"The soldier is the man who declines to take shelter from perils at the cost of anybody else. The unwillingness to be the protected person is the quality from which the military virtues spring. This state of mind links itself up with the temper which finds it intolerable that there is anything in the universe of which mankind must be lastingly afraid.

"The virtue of the soldier is *to go through with the perils and difficulties* willy nilly, on the general principle that if there is anything that has to be stood, he can stand it. He is not going to let the other fellow stand it for him. Endurance means there is nothing we can't do if we have to, nothing we can't stand if we have to, nothing we can't face if we have to."

Summary

Among the spiritual values without which we cannot win through are the following which Judaism stresses:

1. Man is subject to a higher law than the jungle law of natural selection. That higher law is that all human beings are entitled to be rendered fit to live and to make the most of their lives.

2. That higher law must be translated into a system of organized and enforceable laws and of effective and inspiring education.

3. Freedom must partake of the nature of divine redemption in being made the goal of universal security and in being safeguarded by laws binding men to its creative use.

4. The present world disaster should be viewed from the angle of God's way with mankind and be seen as part of that moral determinism which cannot be evaded. It should therefore be an occasion for repentance of our own past sins of omission and commission.

5. The Kingdom of God can be defended only if, to a heart unreconciled to the tyranny of might, we add a determined and intrepid will to resist the forces of evil no matter how overwhelming the odds.

In the words of the ancient prophet, "The impious men, their power shall fail them, if they who profess righteousness will live by their faith."

Exilurbia*

By ERNEST I. JACOB**

THIS study attempts to inquire into the present status of the members of a Jewish community in Germany who now are scattered all over the world. They form a unique social body kept together by nothing but memories and an extensive correspondence with the wirter, which has been carried on over a number of years. The memories include a common background for all these persons, but also lasting friendships and family relations. They are more powerful than such memories would be under normal conditions because they contain psychological experiences of terrific force. All these people share memories of the persecution during all

*This article was submitted in October, 1942. Its data, therefore, apply to conditions up to that time.

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the years of Nazi domination which, for most of the emigrants, reached its climax in the tragic days of November, 1938. The correspondence was carried on by means of a circular letter sent out twice a year, always provoking hundreds of letters in reply and reaching about 500 people in all continents. The danger of generalizing from limited facts has to be kept in mind. Yet there is ample reason to regard these cases as typical. The writer, when still in Germany, conducted similar surveys and, in each instance, the result proved in accord with the main facts as disclosed by studies of the whole Jewish community of Germany.

The Community In Germany

To understand the present status of the community in its diaspora it is necessary to describe shortly its former status in Germany up to the present war. This was one of the oldest Jewish communities in the South of Germany; its rich history can be traced back to the year 1212. The Jews had been expelled from that city in 1439; but they went to neighboring towns and continued to do business in the city for many centuries until they were allowed to take up residence in the city again about the year 1803. From that date to 1933 they built up a prosperous community which at its peak numbered 1,200 people, not more than two-thirds of one percent of the city's population.

Their economic status, developed in more than a century, was very high even after Germany's defeat in the first World War and the inflation that followed. Beside numerous wholesale and retail businesses, the Jews owned a dozen factories of some importance, among them textile mills, clothing factories, chemical and building industries employing more than 6,000 workmen. A confidential inquiry at the beginning of Hitler's rule showed that the Jewish retailers had an annual turnover of up to 15,000,000 RM, approximately $6,000,000. There were dozens of prosperous professional men.

The Jews had more than their share in the public life of the city and were on the best of terms with the non-Jewish population, thanks to their traditional retired way of living which was not typical of all Jewish communities in Germany. Their affluence found expression in the construction of a beautiful new synagogue in 1917 at a cost of one million RM ($400,000), with a seating capacity of 800. The synagogue was connected with community buildings for offices, a library, a weekday synagogue, a *mikveh,* a hall, and apartments for the rabbi and other employees of the congregation. The communal life was continually expanding, particularly under Nazi rule when the Jews were forced to take care of activities formerly regarded as outside of the Jewish sphere proper. The welfare agency assisted 55 families with 132 persons in 1937. A splendid home for aged people was built as late as 1937. There was a Jewish sports ground, a parochial school for the Jewish children who had been expelled from public schools, a *Kulturbund,* which carried on musical and other cultural activities when the Jews had been prohibited to attend public concerts, a *Beth Halutz* for preparing youth for farming in Palestine and many other institutions.

All of these institutions could do their useful work until November 10, 1938, when the synagogue was set on fire and most of the Jewish men who had not yet emigrated were dragged to a concentration camp. Since then the community had to get along on a reduced scale. The home for aged people and the sports ground were confiscated. Worship could be performed in a small suburban synagogue only, and the main activities, up to

the outbreak of the present war, were organized to help emigration and care for the suddenly impoverished Jewish population that was not allowed any economic activity other than forced labor of the lowest kind. It is uncertain whether at present any Jews at all are left in this once flourishing community or whether they have since been shipped wholesale to Poland like most other German Jews, and shared the fate of the Polish Jewish population.

Distribution of Emigrants

Emigration began immediately after Hitler seized power. But the tempo was slow for the first five years because a majority of these prosperous Jews kept up their hope for a change of regime which might save them the trouble of building a new life in foreign parts and might let them retain at least part of their fortunes. By spring of 1935, however, the first 100 persons had emigrated. In an analysis of that first group of emigrants, published at that time, the present writer found among other facts that 80 percent of them were under 35 years of age and roughly two-thirds of them were male. The second hundred emigrants had left by July 1, 1937. Another analysis revealed that the trends mentioned had been maintained; there were now 155 emigrants under 35 years of age and still twice as many men as women among those above 15 years of age.

The Jewish population amounted to about 1,000 persons in 1933. Of these 550 have since succeeded in leaving Germany. One hundred and fifty passed away between 1933 and 1942. Three hundred may still be in Germany in their old homes. This corresponds fairly well to the known estimates of the whole Jewish emigration from Germany, usually set at 260,000 out of the 560,000 German Jews that lived in Germany before Hitler. It is also usually assumed that there remain about 160,000 German Jews under the Nazi sway, of whom the majority may actually be living in Poland now.

Where did the 550 emigrants go to? The writer has reliable knowledge of 90 percent of that number and even knows the actual addresses of 410. The 500 emigrants known by name are now residing in the following places:

In the U. S. A., scattered over 22 states of the Union	289
(Of these, 129 or fewer than half, live in New York City; other large groups are located in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and Richmond, Va.)	
In the Philippines	1
In Canada	3
Total in North America and possessions	293
In Brazil	32
In Argentine	22
In Colombia	13
In Cuba	4
In Chile	1
In the rest of Latin America	2
Total in all of Latin America	74
In England	32
In British South Africa	20
In the British Indies	6
In New Zealand	4
Total in the British Empire outside of Palestine and Canada	62
In Palestine	41
In France	16
In China	5
In Spain	4
In Switzerland	3
In Belgium	2
Total in continental Europe	30

The result is that 59% are in North America
15% in Latin America
12% in the British Empire
8% in Palestine
6% in other countries

This distribution cannot be regarded as typical for the whole emigration of German Jews. In this particular case more than the average went to the U.S.A., less than the average to Palestine. The reasons are that Zionism had been weaker in

this community than in other parts of Germany and that, on the other hand, many people had relatives in the U.S.A. who could help them to come over, since many American Jews had come from the South of Germany in the last century.

Economic Conditions Of the Emigrants

How are the emigrants getting on economically? It goes without saying that almost all of them live on a much lower standard than in Germany. The community had always felt very loyal towards the "Fatherland" and its members were law-abiding people living in the province far from the nervousness prevailing among the Jews of the great centers. That made them hesitate to trespass against government regulations by sending money out of the country. For this reason most of them arrived in their new homelands with no money at all or modest amounts only; but most of them were able to salvage their furniture and an ample store of household goods which they would put to very good use for many years to come. As far as the writer knows, not a single person is starving. Many had to turn to the generous help of the Jewish immigration agencies for transportation and assistance in finding a job, but nobody lives on these agencies. Old people and those unable to make a living for other reasons are kept by their American relatives or, in most cases, by the rest of the immigrant family. Most of the professional people, tradesmen, and several experts could find work in their old lines. Two rabbis are working as such, another one as a Hebrew teacher. Three teachers have teaching positions. Five doctors have opened practices with fairly good success; so have two dentists. Nurses, one chemist, one musician work as before. Four highly trained textile engineers have even better-paid jobs than before, in South America and India. A case of good luck is the following:

"I arrived in New York in February, 1938, with $100 and great anxiety over speaking English and living among Americans. As time went on money and anxiety disappeared. After six months I succeeded in founding a business. I'm now manufacturing surgical instruments, at present for the government only. I'm employing ten other refugees—a relatively large number, as experts are rare. A great deal of my spare time is dedicated to our Temple (American); I am a member of the board."

Four men opened factories on a small scale in South America and in New Zealand. A tailor is very successful in Colombia. Three butchers have good jobs in the U.S.A. With lawyers and merchants it is a different story. Some of the lawyers are making a living as accountants or bank clerks. One wholesale and three or four retail merchants were able to open businesses in their former lines. Young people have quite satisfactory jobs in offices or as salesmen. But the great majority have to labor hard and in fields very different from their former occupations, for instance as peddlers, as hands in stores and factories, insurance brokers, photographers or at household jobs, and can make a living only if their wives and children also work. The former manufacturer who employed 100 or more people and now works as a kind of janitor is no isolated case. And it is with pride that we can report on several highly educated women who make their living courageously by hard work at menial jobs. The following report on the career of a young man may stand for many others:

"I arrived in New York in October, 1937, and remained there for three weeks only. Independently, that means without any connections, I went to Philadelphia, taking a room at the YMCA. In this way

I had to speak English as I always went to Americans only and lived among them. I found the Jewish organization at Philadelphia and through that I made the acquaintance of a wonderful man, a Russian Jewish butcher, who guided my life in the next months. I took quarters with a family of German Jews, worked at a sausage shop and even tried once to start a business of my own. In spring, 1938, I got a good job in a hotel at Atlantic City and worked there till the end of November. My boss helped me to get a job at Miami Beach, Fla. On April, 1938, I returned to the North and had different jobs in New York including one as a bussboy in the British pavillion at the World's Fair. There I could join a union which provided me with work from that time on and was a kind of insurance at the same time. In the summer of 1939 I worked at a high class country club near the Canadian frontier. From there I went to Philadelphia and married a Jewish girl from Delaware. In December I went back to Florida to work for my former boss. Returning from there in April, 1940, I was sent by the union to X and since that time I worked here in a 600-room hotel which is one of the best equipped and most modern. On April 16th my wife bore us a daughter and we are a happy family now. We love the country and the language, and I am so glad that my dear parents and my dear grandmother are here with us."

A very few among the 500 refugees are in easy circumstances. All get along. Regarding the different new homelands it may be fair to say that the struggle for a living is hardest in the U.S.A. and in England. In the U.S.A. this fact is mitigated by the high living standard even for working people that grants to a common workman a standard almost as comfortable as was that of the middle classes in Germany. In England it took a long time until any refugee was allowed to work at all. And some of them, at the time of the nervous reaction to the collapse of France, were even deprived of their refuge and senselessly shipped as enemy aliens to Canada or Australia, from where they have now, for the most part, been brought back to England and to useful work. In Latin America the economic situation of the refugees is as a rule satisfactory. As the general standard is comparatively low, even modest means enabled immigrants to open their own businesses, even factories. Reports on South Africa are very good and the economic situation in Palestine has developed in favor of most immigrants. It has to be mentioned that some refugees are still, in Cuba and other places, condemned to forced idleness in spite of good training and high intelligence, which would make their work desirable in any other place.

Human Problems of Adjustment

Most interesting is the human aspect of the emigration. How far did these people adapt themselves to the complete change in their lives? It is hardest on the aged men and women who cannot work any longer and have the greatest difficulty in learning foreign languages at an advanced age: English or Spanish, Portuguese or Hebrew. But there was more than one tragedy among younger people too. One boy, separated from the rest of his family commited suicide when hearing a false rumor that his parents, who had remained in Germany, were imprisoned or taken to a concentration camp. So did some of the people who had not been able to leave Germany, particularly when it seemed inevitable that they would be shipped to Poland. A woman contracted a fatal disease on the boat crossing the Atlantic and died at Ellis Island before having been re-united with her only boy whom she had sent to the United

States four years earlier. How frequently families have been scattered all over the world, one member living in England, another in Palestine, another in the U.S.A., etc., and this with reduced opportunity for correspondence in war time! It happened in more than one case that people learned of a death or of the new home of near relatives only by the circular letters of this writer.

Yet life goes on among the refugees. Quite a number of the younger ones have married, in most cases among their own kind. Quite a few children have been born to these young couples. A considerable number of the refugees have passed away in the diaspora.

Many of the refugees are highly enthusiastic over their new homelands, be it the U.S.A., Colombia, Palestine or some other country. They feel most thankful for the opportunity to make a new start in life. They resented that the writer first called his circular a letter to a congregation "in exile," as they did not want to feel themselves in exile. They even objected to some letters of other refugees published in the same circular where the new homeland, South Brazil or New Zealand, was recommended for its beautiful scenery and compared to the Allgaeu near their old home. A man writes from India, "I do not want to be reminded of the Allgaeu. I want to forget it." Well, even the Nazis could not change the fact that the Allgaeu is indeed one of the loveliest spots on earth. A lady writes from Palestine, "This country is incredibly beautiful. We could live so happily if this war were not on." A man writes from Oregon, "It is a great pleasure to drive through this beautiful country. You cannot imagine how wonderful and full of variety landscape and vegetation are. The people, too, are particularly loveable and helpful. My work here is nothing but joy."

This is the motif repeated over and over in hundreds and hundreds of letters from all over the world. It is human nature to find fault too; criticism and misunderstanding of the way of life in foreign parts are by no means lacking But there is, almost without exception, a sincere aspiration to complete adjustment as expressed in the following lines:

"I feel that since we were so kindly admitted to this great country we ought to do our best to make its language our own and to acquire the new customs; in short, I feel we ought to become good Americans. I do realize that this is a big order. It may be easier for the younger generation, but the older generation cannot forget over-night what they have been used to for a good many years."

Though this writer sometimes hears it said about refugees that some of them have expressed a desire to go back to Germany as soon as circumstances permit, he can testify that not once in hundreds of letters has he found any such feelings or wishes expressed. This was the more significant in that these letters were written not for publication and with utmost frankness on all subjects. Dozens of boys from this community are now already fighting in the Allied armies against Hitlerism.

Problems of Religious and Cultural Adjustment

The greatest criticism among the emigrants concerns itself primarily with the Jewish and particularly the Jewish religious conditions in almost all countries. It must be admitted that this group was spoiled in this regard by a well organized congregation, by one of the most beautiful synagogues in the world and a worship full of decorum and inspiration. Besides that, no other part of life is so bound up with custom as is religion. With most people a divine service is unsatisfactory, to begin with, if melodies are different from those they were used to. But

making due allowance for these factors, it has to be reported that most of these people are almost shocked either by the coolness and low intellectual appeal, or by the lack of decorum in worship in too many communities all over the world. This group is certainly not Orthodox. Their own congregation was labeled as liberal and was one of the leading synagogues in the history of progressive Judaism. But these people, with few exceptions, have retained religious interests or have regained them in years of persecution and bitter experiences. One letter may stand for many:

"We have no Jewish life here; people generally go to Temple twice a year. You cannot imagine how often we speak of the wonderful worship at home. On Yom Kippur several members of the congregation here recited the prayers alternatively. If there had not been a recess several times, we could as well have gone home at two o'clock instead of at five. During recess at noon, a man had the cheerful idea of bringing a radio in order to listen in an adjacent room to an important football match."

This report came from a small place in the U.S.A.; but there are similar ones from Brazil, Argentine, even Palestine.

These people would be most receptive to truly religious inspiration. Even now they write of sermons delivered years ago and remember their religious school training with gratitude. This impression—whether it be a just one or not is subject to argument—enables us to understand why refugees in larger cities have set up their own congregations according to accustomed patterns and even why some who have no opportunity of that kind abstain from attending services at all although they used to attend regularly in Germany. Evidence of religious needs is to be found in the not infrequent discussions in the correspondence of purely religious problems as, for instance, whether Jewish religion allows one to hate Hitler, or what could be done to bring skeptical children back to religion or how foolish it was to change the phraseology of the traditional prayer book that affirmed God's having chosen Israel from all nations.

Much more satisfactory is the progress in cultural adaptation. To many an emigrant the world of Anglo-Saxon cultural life was a pleasant surprise and so was the richness of the English language. From Palestine comes word of a happy reconstruction of Hebrew culture. Generally speaking it was a definite gain for many to learn how rich mankind is in varieties of spiritual life and, at the same time, how similar true humanity and the main problems of life are all over the world.

It is not the purpose of this study to draw conclusions or to attempt to prophesy. But it is certain that valuable insight into problems of Jewish history as well as rules for future conduct of Jewish affairs could be gained by a more extensive study of Exilurbia. It is doubtful how long this unique social body will keep together. It is bound to dissolve by progressive adaptation of its members to their new surroundings and the passing away of the older generation. But it will have contributed to many Jewish communities all over the world something valuable by bringing them the memory of what once flourished in Germany, just as immigrant groups from Russia, Lithuania and Poland have contributed memories of Jewish life in those lands.

Book Notes

ALL THE TRUMPETS SOUNDED, by W. G. Hardy. 501 pp. Coward McCann, Inc., N. Y.

IN this novel which is both startlingly beautiful and shockingly profane, W. G. Hardy has written his version of the life of Moses, the greatest leader of the Jewish people.

That this novel contains pages which rank with the best in literature; that there are scenes of exotic beauty which can readily be compared to the classic Old Testament novels written by Thomas Mann, who has himself never excelled his Joseph series; that this book subtly complements Zora Neale Hurston's "Moses, Man of the Mountain," does not alter the fact that Hardy, at times, brutalizes his major protagonist and makes of him a tribal leader who lacks the moral greatness to mold a great nation.

Hardy's Moses is as well drawn as Mann's Joseph. He is a more heroic figure than Irving Fineman's Jacob. He is certainly more of a leader than Hurston's Moses. But Hardy's hero lacks the mystical qualities which are inherent in Hurston's black-Negro Moses. While Hardy makes it easy to see how Moses beat the Pharaoh, he does not convince us that Moses created a religious nation. Hurston shows us that Moses was a great spiritual leader whose faith led him to military victories. The Moses created by Hardy is an Egyptian general, a man of action, a warrior forced to lead a people, a lover driven to passion by a beautiful woman, a hot-headed man without much spirituality. The end-picture is a convincing one of a good leader but hardly a man of Biblical stature—and when a novelist chooses an Old Testament hero, he faces a challenge which demands that the fictional character be as wonderful as the Bible hero.

Hurston's Moses is a voodoo-man, but he is religious and it is quite easy to understand how he "leads them out of Egypt land," and makes them God's people.

It is Hardy's contention, fictionally speaking, that Moses is responsible for the ten plagues and many of the other miracles, largely through the power of hypnosis. There were no plagues, actually, but the Pharaoh was hypnotized and, consequently, was led to believe that the plagues could occur if he refused to free the Hebrews. The splitting of the sea was a miracle of nature and the manna from heaven was nothing but quail driven to earth by a tremendous wind. These things may be accepted or rejected. That they ring true in a novel is all the novelist demands. In this instance Hardy succeeds. Indeed, he succeeds where so many other novelists fail. He creates mood and atmosphere. He brings us back to the pomp of Egypt. He recreates the court intrigues. He projects keenly-etched characters to the forefront. He presents, above all, excellent reasons for Moses to take an interest in the Hebrews. After all it takes a lot of explaining to convince a reader that a prince of Egypt should take the part of a people he has been brought up to believe are slaves.

The story of Moses is well known and needs little repetition. Hardy believes that the princess, Bint-Anath arranged for the adoption of Moses because she saw in him a tool to grasp the power of the throne

after the death of Pharaoh, her father. Her own impotence robbed her of children and she realized that only through a male heir could the Pharaoh rule. So she took Moses from Jochebed, the Hebrew, and palmed him off as her own son before the court, while persuading her father that the boy belonged to a friend who, because of an illicit affair, was not eager to claim the child.

There is a struggle for soul ownership of the child, for both Bint-Anath and Jochebed, the boy's nursemaid, want to control his mind. The boy wavers but when he becomes the Moses who leads the Jews, it is evident that the Egyptian princess has been defeated. Moses grows up as a prince of Egypt. He is hard and cruel and he is a fine general. Merneptah, his major court rival, seems beaten when Moses returns the victor in a war against Kush. The star of Moses rises. He will be the next Pharaoh.

And then it happens. From Kush, Moses returns with a wife. She is voluptuous Tharbis, daughter of the vanquished king of the land. Tharbis is beautiful, and the impulsive and warm-blooded Moses wants nothing more than to lie in her arms. But Tharbis is man-mad. She would love any man—and does. Moses, intoxicated by her, loses control of his senses. He no longer calculates carefully each step he takes. The struggle for power of the court, carried on by Bint-Anath and Merneptah's mother, Tiiy, comes to a head when Moses allows passion to rule him. He would give up anything for his mother, but not Tharbis.

The sexual struggle in this book is convincing but it is somehow profane to point to the sex complication as the axis on which Moses' destiny whirls. And that is exactly how Hardy makes it. It may be exciting novelistically, to create a Moses who is as putty in the hands of a courtesan. But it calls to mind shades of Somerset Maugham's great "Of Human Bondage," in which a mean girl ruins a fine man. The Bible's Moses, it seems, would not have been stopped by a Tharbis. Neither is this Moses, but to almost the last page, Tharbis is a potent factor. At a climactic moment, when Moses, now a Jewish leader and no longer a pampered Egyptian, now a prophet and a Hebrew not a general and a rival of Merneptah, now presumably consumed by holy fervor and not by the body of Tharbis, demands that Pharaoh (now Merneptah, who succeeded the old king) release the Jews, Moses cannot but see the vision of Tharbis and, when she walks into the room, he demands her too! This may be Hardy's conception of a passion-lusted man. It certainly is not what one would expect of a religious leader at a moment when his dreams are about to come true. That Moses gets Tharbis again and this time keeps her, even though he is married to Zipporah, is an indication that he is not yet sexually mature—and a sexually immature man can hardly be the Moses of the Bible.

This is not profanity of language; it is profanity of imagination. And it is a deep disappointment, for Hardy is capable of great things. The scene in which he is driven to confess that he killed the Egyptian taskmaster because the man had beaten a Hebrew (who is, incidentally, Nun, the father of Joshua, who succeeds Moses), the scene in which he orders Tharbis stoned to death, the scene in which Moses dies—these are excellent and painted by a careful artist. On the other hand the explanation that the burning bush is an optical illusion created by the sun's rays shooting through the bush, the casual manner in which the plagues are mentioned, the monologue of Moses before he dies—these are oddly out of place and mar the entire novel.

The following passage may be a fit one

for a modern writer who wants desperately to be a realist. But is it artistically true to say this of a man who created a nation through the fervor of religious faith?—"What did all humanity matter? What did the Hebrews themselves, on whom he had spent his life, really matter, whether they lived or died, whether they conquered or were slaves? At the last, no matter what one thought or believed, no matter how one struggled, it came to this, a lonely old man sitting on a mountain-top, waiting to die."

This is good writing, but it is inherently false to attribute such thoughts to a man who leads a people out of bondage.

Throughout the book are passages of clear beauty. Jethro's little speech on the nature of woman deserves to be included in any anthology devoted to the puzzle that is woman. Nun's words on the nature of free men and slaves are potent today. He says: " . . . have now been a slave for over forty years. In the first years you rebel. Your pride refuses to bend. Even when you come to comprehend that physical resistance is useless, since it only brings worse punishments, you still rebel in your mind. And then one morning you wake up and realize with a shock that even the rebellion of the mind has passed away. You shrug your shoulders. You bend to your task. You take what comes to you and obey. You have no spirit left. . . . The life of slavery is normal to them (the Hebrews). It is written on the pages of their minds. Take any people and write slavery on their minds, or anything else you will, and until you can burn that writing off, you can expect from them only the thoughts of slaves and the actions of slaves."

Apart from good writing, keen psychological insight and some poor psychological awareness, Hardy gives the impression most of the time that he is too much the realist to take anything at all for granted. His attempts to account for all that happened to Moses often fall flat not because Hardy lacks imagination but because he fears to have faith. His absorption with contemplating the miracles in the story of Moses forbids him to dive into the tale with a free-singing abandon which is the gift of Hurston. He cannot allow himself to both observe and believe. He wants only to observe. Thomas Mann sees and also believes. Thus Hardy lacks the ecstasy of Hurston and the philosophical depth of Mann. For to create great literature you must believe and have faith as well as recognize what is happening.

—Harold U. Ribalow

Correspondence

Comment on "Werfel's Journey"

Sirs:

Israel Knox asks in his article on *Franz Werfel's Journey*, printed in your issue of April 2, "What shall we say of Werfel's journey as artist and philosopher from the Forty Days to the Song of Bernadette?"

Well, there is an answer. Werfel first attained literary fame with the drama "Paul Among the Jews," which concludes with the words, "The hour of Christ has come!" The road from there to the "Song of Bernadette" is neither very long nor very tortuous.

Regrettably, Jewish critics of Werfel usually overlook the significance of his "Paul" for his artistic and philosophical development. John A. Mackay, a Protestant, in his newly pulished book, "Heritage and Destiny," correctly refers to Werfel's "Paul Among the Jews" as a typical testimony of a Jew "in passionate eulogy of Christ" (op. cit., p. 33) and compares "Paul" with John Cournos' notorious "Epistle to the Jews" that created a furor some years ago. So perhaps we'd better get reconciled to the thought that Werfel the Jewish writer, or the Jew, does not exist—except in wishful thinking.

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